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ROGER CHANNEL - PER INR/DDC/MR. TRUEHART

INR-MR. R. BERGFJRL)

DEPT PASS AMEMBASSY PRAGUE, MOSCOW, BONN

CZECHOSLOVAKIA--VIEWS OF VRATISLAV PECHOTA

1. VRATISLAV PECHOTA (PROTECT), HEAD OF CZECH FONOFF OFFICE OF ANALYSIS AND POLICY PLANNING, LUNCHEd WITH MOSOFF WHO HAS KNOWN HIM THROUGH UN FOR FOUR YEARS. (PECHOTA FORMER FONOFF LEGAL ADVISER AND LATER SPECIAL ADVISER ON LEGAL AND EUROPEAN AFFAIRS TO BOTH DAVID AND HAJEK.) FOL ARE HIGHLIGHTS PECHOTA'S COMMENTS (DETAILS BY AIRGRAM):

2. DEBATE IN UN: PECHOTA CREDITS SO DEBATE WITH "DECISIVE" ROLE IN PRESERVATION OF POSITIONS OF DUBCEK, CERNIK, AND SMRKOVSKY--POSSIBLY TO POINT SAVING THEIR LIVES. AS TO GA, DOES NOT FAVOR SEPARATE CZECH ITEM (WHICH WOULD INTENSIFY COLD WAR ATMOSPHERE AND ENHANCE SEVERITY OF SOVIET MEASURES AGAINST CZECHS), BUT STATES CZECHS "DO NOT OBJECT" TO REFERENCES CZECHOSLOVAKIA IN SPEECHES, WHICH THEY BELIEVE MAY BE USEFUL REMINDER TO USSR OR WORLD OPINION.

3. SOVIET INTENTIONS: PECHOTA DOES NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL FALTER IN EFFORTS PRESS THROUGH TO ESTABLISHMENT OF EFFECTIVE CONTROL IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. HE SEES AS HIGH PRIORITY ITEM "DESTRUCTION" OF PARTY IN PRESENT FORM.

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PAGE 02 USUN N 07050 142047Z

REPLACEMENT OF POPULAR PARTY OF MILLION AND A HALF WITH VERY SMALL PARTY DIRECTLY SUBSERVIENT TO MOSCOW AND HOLDING ALL EFFECTIVE POWER OF CZECHOSLOVAK STATE. SOVIETS WISH TO GET RID OF DUBCEK AS SOON AS FEASIBLE AND ARE DETERRED AT MOMENT ONLY BY GENUINE FEAR OF POPULAR UPRISING. PECHOTA DOES NOT BELIEVE SOVIETS WILL USE THEIR OWN SECURITY APPARATUS TO ELIMINATE RECALCITRANT CZECHOSLOVAKS (AS THEY HAD PLANNED TO DO ON LARGE SCALE AT TIME OF INVASION), BUT BELIEVES THEY WILL EVENTUALLY DEMAND THAT CZECH SECURITY APPARATUS DO SO. SOVIET LEADERSHIP CARES LITTLE FOR OPINIONS EXPRESSED BY GOVTS IN UN - WHICH THEY DISDAIN - OR BY COMMUNIST PARTIES OUTSIDE EASTERN EUROPE. ONLY GOVERNMENT WHOSE OPINION ON CZECHOSLOVAKIA MATTERS TO SOV LEADERSHIP IS US WHICH THEY REGARD AS USSR'S "ONLY PARTNER" IN WORLD AFFAIRS. "DISCREET WARNINGS" FROM US TO GO NO FURTHER IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA MIGHT HAVE DETERRENT EFFECT.

4. PROGNOSIS FOR FUTURE: PECHOTA HAS "NO ILLUSIONS" RE: ABILITY OF LEADERSHIP SUCCESSFULLY RESIST SOV EFFORTS ESTABLISH EFFECTIVE CONTROL. BELIEVES POPULATION WILL EVENTUALLY TIRE AND BECOME PREOCCUPIED WITH BUSINESS OR DAILY LIFE. HE SEES A DEVELOPING "POLARIZATION" IN PRAGUE BETWEEN PRO-SOVIETS AND SUPPORTERS OF LIBERALIZATION (NOTED THAT AS RESULT, UN MISSION UNWILLING TAKE REASSURANCES FROM FONOFF RE: RECENT MOSCOW COMMUNIQUE AT FACE VALUE, NOT KNOWING FROM WHAT INDIVIDUALS IN FONOFF COMMUNICATION EMANATED). HE REMARKED, HOWEVER, THAT DUBCEK, HUSAK, AND SOME SIX OTHERS AMONG LEADERSHIP HAD LAST WEEK REAFFIRMED THEIR MUTUAL PLEDGE OF UNITY. INTENTION OF GROUP IS TO RESIGN EN MASSE IF DUBCEK OUSTED SO AS TO LEAVE SOVIETS PROBLEM OF COMPRISING GOVT AND PARTY LEADERSHIP FROM SCRATCH.

5. SOV LEGAL JUSTIFICATIONS FOR CZECHOSLOVAK INTERVENTION: PECHOTA STATES THAT SOV LEADERSHIP HOLDS UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT INTERNATIONAL LAW INCLUDING UN CHARTER DOES NOT APPLY TO RELATIONSHIPS AMONG COMMUNIST STATES. SEPT 25 PRKVAHA ARTICLE NOT TO BE DISMISSED AS PURELY FOR EASTERN EUROPEAN CONSUMPTION. RECALLS THAT ON AUG 22, KUZNETSOV, UPON BEING PRESENTED WITH CZECH PROTEST NOTE RECITING OBLIGATIONS OF INTERNATIONAL LAW TO REFRAIN FROM INTERVENTION AND USE OF FORCE, HAD RETORTED THAT INTERNATIONAL LAW HAD NO APPLICATION TO DIFFICULTIES ARISING BETWEEN SOCIALIST

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PAGE 03 USUNIN 07050 142047Z

STATES:

6. ARTS 59 AND 107, AND FRG. SOVS ALSO TAKE SERIOUSLY VIEW THAT ARTS 59 AND 107 WOULD PERMIT UNILATERAL USE OF FORCE AGAINST FRG. PECHOTA ASSERTED THAT SOME INDIVIDUALS IN SOV GOVT GENUINELY ENTERTAIN POSSIBILITY, HOWEVER UNREALISTIC, OF EVENTUAL SOV INTERVENTION AGAINST FRG. THIS THINKING IN MOSCOW ENGENDERS SECRET HOPE THAT RIGHT WING EXTREMISTS WILL GRADUALLY ACCEDE TO POWER IN FRG, MAKING SOV AND GDR REPRESSION IN EASTERN EUROPE MORE PLAUSIBLE AND EVENTUALLY CAUSING WEST TO ACQUIESCE IN UNILATERAL INTERVENTION BY USSR.

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Department of State

4  
TELEGRAM  
22

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PAGE 01 STATE 244534

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1. CZECH AMBASSADOR DUA URGENTLY REQUESTED AND WAS GIVEN APPOINTMENT WITH SECRETARY SEPTEMBER 24.

2. DUDA SAID, UNDER INSTRUCTIONS FROM HIS GOVERNMENT, HE WISHED RAISE TWO MATTERS IN CONNECTION WITH INTERNATIONAL ASPECTS OF RECENT EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA.

A. UN ACTION -- HIS GOVERNMENT HAS CONCLUDED FROM PRESS REPORTS AND INFORMATION TRANSMITTED BY CZECH UN MISSION THAT US IS GIVING THOUGHT TO SUPPORTING DISCUSSIONS IN UNGA ON RECENT CZECH EVENTS. THERE ARE INDICATIONS THAT CZECHOSLOVAKIA MIGHT EVEN BE PUT ON AGENDA AS SEPARATE ITEM. HIS GOVERNMENT BELIEVES SUCH ACTION, WHETHER DISCUSSION IN GENERAL DEBATE OR ITEM ON AGENDA, WOULD NOT HELP CZECHOSLOVAKIA BUT WOULD CAUSE HARM. DISCUSSIONS HAVE BEEN HELD WITH OTHER SOCIALIST COUNTRIES INVOLVED AND IN OPINION HIS GOVERNMENT THERE HAS BEEN SOLUTION TO DIFFICULTIES. THEREFORE, RAISING THIS SUBJECT IN UNGA WOULD NOT ONLY HARM CZECHOSLOVAKIA BUT ALL OTHER COUNTRIES. CZECH GOVERNMENT IS ALSO OF OPINION THAT ANYTHING WHICH WOULD PLUNGE WORLD INTO COLD WAR, SUCH AS DEBATE OF CZECHOSLOVAK ISSUE IN UN, SHOULD BE AVOIDED. CZECH GOVERNMENT THEREFORE REQUESTS THAT ATTEMPTS TO PUT CZECH ITEM ON AGENDA OR TO DISCUSS CZECHOSLOVAK EVENTS IN

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TELEGRAM

22

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PAGE 02 STATE 244534

UNGA BE STOPPED.

B. NPT -- DUDA PREFACED HIS REMARKS ON NPT BY STATING THAT US CONGRESSIONAL ACTION ON RATIFICATION OF NPT IS CLEARLY AN INTERNAL MATTER AND CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT DOES NOT WISH IN ANY WAY TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF US. BECAUSE CZECH GOVERNMENT HAS NOTICED THAT CERTAIN MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE ASKED FOR POSTPONEMENT OF RATIFICATION BECAUSE OF DEVELOPMENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, IT WISHES TO RESTATE ITS POSITION ON NPT. CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT STRONGLY SUPPORTS NPT. THIS HAS BEEN MADE CLEAR IN STATEMENTS BY LEADING CZECHOSLOVAK OFFICIALS AND BY FACT THAT, ON INSTRUCTIONS FROM PRESIDENT SVOBODA WHICH WERE APPROVED BY GOVERNMENT, HE, AMBASSADOR DUDA, HAD SIGNED NPT HERE IN WASHINGTON. CZECH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION ON AND SUPPORT FOR NPT HAS BEEN EMPHASIZED BOTH IN GENEVA AND NEW YORK. DUDA CONCLUDED THAT, IN HIS GOVERNMENT'S VIEW, THERE IS NO LOGICAL LINK BETWEEN CZECHOSLOVAK EVENTS AND NPT.

3. UN ACTION -- SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT HE WOULD NOTE AMBASSADOR'S STATEMENT ON BEHALF OF CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO RAISING CZECHOSLOVAK EVENTS IN UN. HIS STATEMENT WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT IN DEVELOPING OUR JUDGMENT ON HOW BEST TO HANDLE PROBLEM IN UNGA. THERE WAS, HOWEVER, NO POSSIBILITY THAT GENERAL ASSEMBLY WOULD REMAIN SILENT ON THIS ISSUE WHETHER IT APPEARS AS ITEM ON AGENDA OR IS GIVEN MAJOR ATTENTION IN GENERAL DEBATE. IT WILL BE DISCUSSED FOR FOLLOWING REASONS:

A. SYMPATHY IN MOST PARTS OF WORLD IS WITH CZECHOSLOVAK PEOPLE AND THERE IS NO WAY OF PREVENTING DISCUSSION OF CZECH DEVELOPMENTS DESPITE PREVIOUS DIFFERENCES WHICH MAY HAVE EXISTED BETWEEN CZECH GOVERNMENT AND OTHER GOVERNMENTS.

B. OUR JUDGMENT WILL BE BASED ON OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS. WE HAVE A NATIONAL INTEREST IN RIGHTS GUARANTEED UNDER UN CHARTER AS THEY PERTAIN TO MEMBER COUNTRIES. WE ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED ABOUT WORLD ORDER. IF CHARTER RIGHTS OF MEMBER COUNTRIES ARE NOT OBSERVED, STRUCTURE OF WORLD ORDER WILL BE DISRUPTED. THIS COULD LEAD TO A NUCLEAR WAR. OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE BASED ON PEACE AND RIGHT OF ALL COUNTRIES TO DEVELOP IN THEIR OWN WAY AND HAVE THIS RIGHT RESPECTED. THERE ARE ABOUT 120 SMALLER COUNTRIES AND FOUR TO FIVE GREAT POWERS. WITH THIS COMBINATION IT IS EASY TO SEE WHAT COULD HAPPEN IF RIGHTS OF ALL GUARANTEED UNDER UN CHARTER ARE NOT OBSERVED. THE GUARANTEES

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PAGE 03 STATE 244534

OF UN CHARTER ARE VITAL TO US NATIONAL INTEREST.

C. AS MEMBER OF NATO OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS ARE ALSO INVOLVED FOR SECURITY REASONS. THERE ARE NOW SEVERAL HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF SOVIET TROOPS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, INCLUDING SOVIET FORCES ALONG THE FRONTIER WITH WEST GERMANY. THE SOVIET INTENTIONS ARE NOT CLEAR, AND WHAT IS PRUDENCE IN THIS SITUATION? WHAT ARE THE CAPABILITIES? ALL THESE QUESTIONS MUST BE CONSIDERED IN ADDITION TO CZECH GOVERNMENT'S POSITION.

D. PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE AMONG SOCIALIST COUNTRIES ALSO CONCERNS OUR NATIONAL INTERESTS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THIS INVOLVES JUDGMENTS WHICH ARE BEING MADE IN MOSCOW. THESE JUDGMENTS CONCERN THE WHOLE WORLD. SIMILAR ACTION SUCH AS THAT TAKEN IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA COULD HAPPEN ELSEWHERE. WORLD OPINION MUST TRY TO HAVE AN INFLUENCE ON THESE DECISIONS. NATIONS MUST MAKE THEIR POSITIONS CLEAR SO THERE ARE NO MISCALCULATIONS ON PART OF ANY NATION. US TAKES THESE MATTERS SERIOUSLY BUT HAS NO INTEREST IN RETURNING TO COLD WAR PERIOD. WE HAVE DEEP INTEREST IN PEACE, IN STANDARDS OF CONDUCT AMONG NATIONS, AND HOW MILITARY FORCES ARE DEPLOYED.

E. SECRETARY CONCLUDED HIS COMMENTS ON UN SITUATION BY REPEATING THAT VIEWS OF CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT WOULD BE TAKEN INTO ACCOUNT WHEN FORMULATING OUR POSITION WITH REGARD TO DISCUSSIONS IN UNGA.

5. NPT -- SECRETARY STATED NPT IS OF MAJOR IMPORTANCE TO USG. WE OBSERVED THAT ONE NATION WITH NUCLEAR POWER IS TOO MANY; FIVE, MANY TIMES TOO MANY; AND 20, BEYOND THE COMPREHENSION OF MODERN MAN. NPT IS NOT A BILATERAL MATTER BETWEEN US AND SOVIET UNION. THESE TWO NATIONS ARE NOT CUSTOMERS FOR NUCLEAR ARMS. IF THERE WERE NO SOVIET UNION, USG WOULD STILL BE FOR NPT. THESE ARE VIEWS OF PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY. BOTH HAVE MADE THEIR VIEWS CLEAR TO CONGRESS. IF SOMEONE HAD BEEN SEEKING WAY TO SABOTAGE NPT, NO BETTER WAY COULD HAVE BEEN FOUND THAN TO MOVE SOVIET TROOPS INTO CZECHOSLOVAKIA. THIS IS CONNECTION BETWEEN NPT AND EVENTS IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA. PRIOR TO THESE EVENTS, SIX OR PERHAPS EIGHT MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WOULD HAVE BEEN AGAINST NPT. NOW THERE ARE STRONG FEELINGS WITH REGARD TO EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE. AMERICAN PUBLIC IS INDIGNANT AND SHOCKED AND ONE WAY OF EXPRESSING THIS INDIGNATION IS BY USING NPT AS A TARGET. SECRETARY THEN ASKED DUDA TO INFORM HIS GOVERNMENT THAT PRESIDENT

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PAGE 04 STATE 244534

AND SECRETARY ARE IN FAVOR OF NPT AND ARE WORKING FOR ITS RATIFICATION BUT RECENT EVENTS IN EASTERN EUROPE HAVE CREATED OBSTACLES TO ITS RATIFICATION.

6. DUDA THANKED SECRETARY FOR HIS REMARKS AND SAID THAT IF CZECHOSLOVAKIA IS TO PRESERVE ANY OF GAINS MADE AFTER JANUARY AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY.

7. WHEN SECRETARY PRIVATELY ASKED DUDA IF THE REASON HE HAD STRESSED THAT HIS GOVERNMENT DID NOT WISH TO INTERFERE IN INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF US DURING THIS ELECTION PERIOD WAS BECAUSE CZECHOSLOVAK LEADERSHIP IN FACT WOULD PREFER TO SEE RATIFICATION OF NPT PUT OFF, AMBASSADOR DUDA REPLIED CZECHOSLOVAK GOVERNMENT MEANT EXACTLY WHAT IT SAID. HE ADDED SECRETARY SHOULD NOT TRY TO READ BETWEEN THE LINES.  
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